1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

# THE BARAMA RIVER CARIBS OF BRITISH GUIANA

## SUSTENANCE

LIFE on the Barama, unlike that reported from certain other tropical environments, cannot be supported by so simple a means as merely plucking the fruits which a bountiful nature places within easy reach of the hand of man. The jungle yields no vegetable products which are or can be used as a staple human diet; and the animals which inhabit the bush have a wary way of eluding unskillful hunters. Likewise the fish of the streams show an annoying liking for the water of their native habitats in preference to that of a cooking pot. The mere business of filling bellies, therefore, occupies a considerable amount of the time and effort of the Caribs, although rarely is this essential activity so demanding as to exclude all others or an enviable amount of leisure.

The fact that the Caribs are not celebrated in more sophisticated parts of the earth for their culinary accomplishments, with the possible exception of alleged anthropophagous delicacies formerly attributed to them, becomes intelligible after an intimate acquaintanceship with their methods of acquiring and preparing food. The diet, nevertheless, is fairly varied and, as can be said of almost any outlandish food, "is not disagreeable to the civilized palate" after said palate has passed a somewhat unappetizing apprenticeship. The one apparently serious omission from the menu is a regular and proper amount of "roughage," a lack which gives rise to a notable degree of constipation and stomach trouble among the natives.

The two staples which are absolutely essential to a Carib are meat (or fish) and cassava. They figure in practically every meal to such an extent that the other food products may almost be regarded as garnishings, while on long trips over the trail or on the river they are relied upon exclusively. The men of the family are responsible for the supply of meat and fish. To this end a man usually goes out hunting every few days, depending upon the meat stock which is in the house, and he stays out until he has

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something to bring back. No man will return from a hunting excursion empty handed to face the ridicule and anger of his wife; and as a consequence men are occasionally absent from their homes for two or three days, sleeping in the bush, until they have acquired some game, if nothing more than a turtle or a couple of birds' eggs, to bring back to the household. Under ordinary circumstances a man usually hunts alone with the help of a dog, although hunting parties are occasionally formed for the pursuit of drove animals, such as bush hog, or unwieldy beasts such as maipuri (bush cow). In fishing a man has his own private lines which he tends himself, but when a stream is poisoned, the cooperation of several men, and frequently of women and children, is enlisted.

The women of the household attend to the field products, digging the cassava and gathering the other edibles, as well as the cooking and preparation of all food. In these activities they are assisted by men too old to hunt and by young children. The cutting and preparation of the field, is, however, the man's task. And both the men and the women cooperate to do the planting.

Hunting. In the procuring of land animals, only three kinds of devices are used: the bow-and-arrow, the trap, and, rarely, the shot gun. Blow guns and spears are not in use at the present time, nor is there any memory of their former use by the Caribs. Such contrivances are said by the old men to have been used by the Akawai who formerly had settlements on the river and they are occasionally brought into the area as curiosities from distant Akawai settlements.[1]

Bows are made from four different kinds of wood and vary slightly according to the material. These four varieties are washiba (Carib, same; unidentified), letter wood (Carib, paidya; *Brosium aubletti*), bopa (Carib, same; unidentified), and yarriyarri (Carib, same, *Anaxagorea* sp.). The washiba bow in cross section is a fat oval; it is somewhat flatter on the belly than on the back and the wood is almost black. The letter wood bow has the same general

[1] Alec, for instance, says that when he was young his uncle brought a blow pipe home after he had made a trip to the head of the Cuyuni. There he had bought the weapon from the Akawais. It was made in one piece from a palm stem with the pith removed. His uncle gave him instructions concerning it. If you hit the quarry and it runs away, the poison is spoilt and the blow pipe must be thrown away. "This is because the game runs away with the essence of the poison" robbing the poison on your unused darts of its power and the weapon of its efficacy. To be successful you must try to hit the game two or three times and cut out the parts around the wounds.

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string (binding, epu miotopo). For feathering the arrow (puliwa epawriri) the wing feathers of the powis (*Crax sp.*) are used. Two feathers are employed for each arrow, one for each side. The two feathers are laid on the ground side by side and the spines cut away from the central rib of each feather on the interior side, so that the two "half-feathers" remaining complement each other. The central ribs are not split. The two feathers are then bound on opposite sides of the shaft with their long axes parallel to the long axis of the shaft, so that when viewed broadside both present the same surfaces of the original feathers. Fine kraua twine or cotton yarn is used for binding, cotton being preferable; each feather is bound to the shaft in five places, (feather binding, epawriri miotopo). The knock (yesendano) is made of wawkonse wood and is set into the split end of the shaft which is bound about with cotton thread (knock binding, ityo miotopo).[1]

On those arrows which have removable or harpoon heads, the recovery cord is fastened to the head by kraua binding and a glue made of mani gum (*Moronobea coccinea Aubl.*). The recovery cord is called towoto poyamoti.

To straighten the shaft of an arrow, it is held over fire and bent into shape with the hand without the help of other apparatus.

The arrow release is between the thumb and first joint of the first finger (Plate 4, *a*). The arrow shaft is always held on the left side of the bow between the second and third fingers of the left hand.

A bow is between four and six feet long (Plates 4, *b* and 5, *a*), and the arrows are usually of approximately the same length. The feathered part of the shaft is four to five inches long and the head of the arrow ranges between six and twelve inches. Figure 2 shows the more common types of arrow heads.

The aranseta (Fig. 2, *a*) is a plain laurel-leaf point.

The rapa (Fig. 2, *b*) is used for hunting hog and is provided with a transverse peg of wood at the base of its leaf-shaped point. This peg serves as a stop so that the arrow immediately comes out after the quarry is hit and is not broken while the hog thrashes about in the underbrush.

The takoshi (Fig. 2, *c*) is provided with one deep barb on one

[1] For South American distribution of this method of strengthening the arrow-butt, see Nordenskiöld, 1924, *The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia.*

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side. It is sometimes detachable. The taoto (Fig. 2, *d*) is double barbed. 411 224

The pinya is the general term applied to that type of arrow which has a detachable head attached by a long recovery string to the shaft. The shaft acts as a drag to prevent the escape of the game in thick bush.

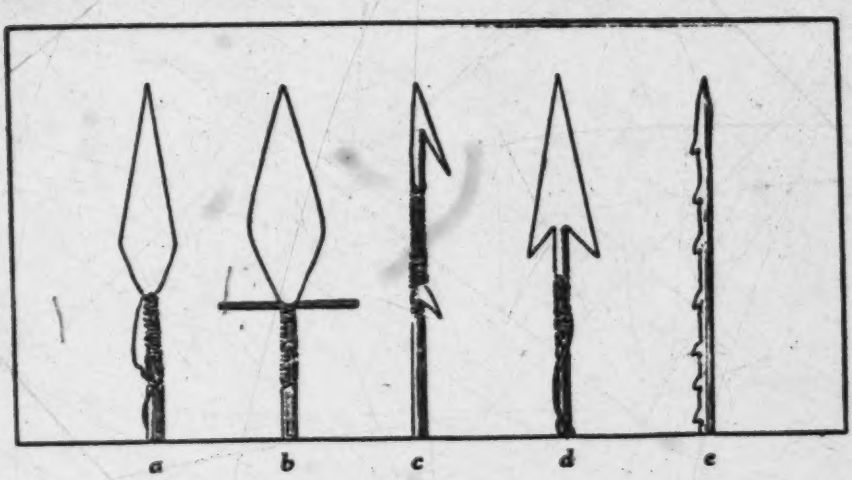


FIGURE 2

Arrowhead types. Left to right: aranseta; rapa; takoshi; taoto; matowai.

One fish arrow (no special name) has a head like that of the aranseta, but is provided with a line attached to the tail of the shaft. The other end of the line is tied around the wrist of the fisherman. 411 226

The tarapa is another type of fish arrow, provided with a cluster of three iron or wooden points as figured in Roth.[1]

Matowai (Fig. 2, *e*) carries a wooden head with many small barbs along one side. It is used for birds. [223]

A utensil sometimes used as a weapon is the cutlass. No Carib will venture out of sight of his house without his cutlass. These implements are made of iron, forged in one piece with a hollow handle which, however, is never hafted. They are obtained in trade and are used for every purpose, from cutting trails to shaving, to which a cutting or hacking implement can be put. Occasionally small animals are killed with the cutlass. 411

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts and Customs*, Fig. 54, B.

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411 177 A few of the men possess dilapidated shotguns which they have obtained from traders or gold diggers. These formidable weapons are known locally as "gas pipes" and are characteristically patched together with bits of string and wire. They are potentially as dangerous to the hunter as to the quarry, because their rustiness and generally feeble condition result in comparatively numerous explosions of the barrel with very serious results. Each hunter has one or two brass shells which are constantly reloaded with powder and shot. The high value of these accessories prohibits their waste and a man seldom shoots until he is sure of hitting the game.

231 224 A man usually goes hunting with his dog, which is invariably an unidentifiable mongrel trained to follow a scent without barking. To improve the sense of smell the dog is forced to submit to certain practices intended to stimulate its olfactory centers. Juice of the red pepper is poured down the animal's nostrils. This "makes the cold" which obstructs the olfactory areas "come out." Cleansing of the dog's nose may also be accomplished with a small twig. The animal is usually deprived of food for a full day before being taken on a hunting expedition so that it will have a personal interest in the search for game. Although the dogs lying around an Indian house always have a more or less dejected and emaciated appearance, a certain amount of care is taken by the Indians to keep them in good hunting condition. Mosquito worms are dug out of their skin as soon as discovered and chiggers removed from their feet. One often sees a man sitting outside the house examining the feet and skin of his dog.

224 The general hunting technique is to follow the dog to the vicinity of the game, whereupon the dog is tied to a tree with a piece of bush rope or, if well trained, made to lie down. The hunter then stalks noiselessly up to the quarry, so close as to permit an almost certain shot. Should the animal discover the approach of the hunter and take flight, the latter knows a call which he can use to attract the curiosity or favorable attention of the species in question. These calls are either whistling sounds made with the lips or grunting and humming sounds produced in the throat of the hunter. In many cases they have no apparent resemblance to the call of the animal itself, but on frequent occasions I have seen an animal about to take flight arrested with apparent curi-

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osity and rooted to the spot as if hypnotized by the call, while the hunter approached closer for a better shot. Arrows as well as powder and shot are valuable, and no hunter takes any unnecessary risk of losing or breaking his weapons.

After the animal has been killed it is trussed up with bush rope for carrying back to the settlement, which may be several hours' distance. The method of trussing varies with the species of animal, but each method is adapted to the species in question so as to make the easiest load possible under the circumstances. If the game is a large animal such as a deer or bush hog, it is disemboweled on the spot, and the parts which are desired cut out. Usually the four quarters and the teeth are taken. If there is a stream near, they are carried there and washed, after which they are trussed up for packing homeward. Smaller animals, such as birds and akuri, are cleaned after they arrive at the settlement. In case the hunter is traveling and he bags a large animal, he builds a fire and a babracote, or smoking frame, on which, before he proceeds on the journey, the meat is smoked after it has been cleaned. In this climate untreated meat spoils within twenty-four hours.

The traps in use on the Barama are the gun or arrow trap, the bird trap, and the noose trap for birds[1], the spring trap for rats (pandaki), and the labba trap.

Among the animal foods which are more or less regularly hunted and eaten are the following:

Accouri, or akuri (Carib, same; *Dasyprocta aguti*).
Labba (Carib, same; *Coelogenys*).
Armadillo (Carib, yesi).
Ant bear (Carib unknown to author; *Myrmecophaga*).
Bush hog: large (Carib, ponjo; *Dicotyles labiatus*); small (Carib, abuya; *D. torquatus*).
Deer of several varieties.[2]
Turtle of several varieties and their eggs.
Manati (Carib) or sea cow.
Wild honey.
River and land crabs.
Otters or water dogs. (?*Pterura Sambachii*).

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, Plate 41, Fig. 3, A, B, and C.
[2] Tibisiri (?*Cervus humilis*).

224 Bush cow (Carib, maipuri; *Tapir Americanus*).

136 Birds of the following varieties, particularly:

262
- Powis or bush turkey (*Crax* sp.).
- Mamm (tinamou).
- Dukwaru or djokoro.
- Wicissi ducks.
- Cock of the Rock (Carib, unknown to author; *Rupicola elegans*).

Bird eggs (particularly mamm eggs).

Rats.

262 The tchiri, a white worm which lives in the pith inside the stem
136 of the turu tree, is fried on the cassava pan and eaten. The kom-
252 buru worm which lives in decaying wood is also eaten. The Caribs do not eat tiger, snake, camudi (water snakes), monkey, chicken hawk, or "crows" (vultures). Abstinence from these forms of animal food is based on tribal taste and has no religious significance.

Kushie ants are occasionally consumed. They are parched on
[825] the cassava pan and the abdomens are eaten. There is a long white worm which is always found in a kushie ant hill, called by the Indians two-headed, because the tail closely resembles the head. It is said to be the "mother of the ants," makoyumo (probably *Amphis baenae*). The muro frog, whose quacking sound is regarded as a sign of rain, is sometimes eaten and is said to taste like "young fowl."

The magico-religious beliefs and practices concerned with hunting will be taken up in the chapter on religion.

Methods of skinning the "accouri" are as follows: An incision is made from the neck to the sexual opening; branching incisions are then made to remove the hide of each of the legs; an incision is made encircling the neck; and the whole skin excluding that of the head is removed in one piece. The head is severed from the body, the abdominal cavity is opened by a sagittal incision in its anterior wall and the contents of the cavity are removed. The carcass is then dismembered for cooking. Essentially the same method is used for other fur or hair-bearing animals.

226 **Fishing.** European fish hooks are obtained in trade. If these
[177] are unavailable, hooks are made from common pins or from a
824 certain thorny bush of the jungle. Fish rods of yarriyarri (*Anaxa-*

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present time it is said that plant binas spring up from the ground where a large boa-constrictor has died. It is my view that this is a natural occurrence due to the fertilization of the soil offered by the decay of a large amount of organic matter. A rank growth of leafy plants is often seen to cover the spot where a carcass has lain a few weeks before. A thirty-foot camudi or boa-constrictor (not an unusual size for these snakes) is the largest animal body in the region, and naturally upon its death affords a fertile spot for the growth of wild plants, including those which may be used as binas.

Let us first consider the binas which are used to assist the hunter. These are of two major types, animal and vegetable.

The krapo (a certain kind of tree frog) bina is the best of all the binas, whether made from animal or vegetable. It is used by practically all members of the tribe and acquired shortly after a man is old enough to hunt. This frog imitates by its call several game animals in the bush, and the use of it, contrary to most bina substances, which are confined to one type of game, is considered to be generally efficacious in hunting all types of game. To prepare such a hunting charm, a man first captures a krapo. Then he makes a series of short parallel cuts on the inner side of the arm which is used to draw the bow string. The cuts run transversely across the branchio-radialis muscle. The hunter rubs some of the slime from the skin of the frog into these incisions, talking to the dead frog during the process and asking it for help in hunting. Next he takes the krapo home and chars it over a fire, after which he pulverizes the remains and puts the ashes away in a packet to be kept until the cuts on his arm start to heal. When the cuts have started to heal but are not yet closed, he rubs the ashes into the wounds, speaking an invocation which he composes himself. A typical phrase of invocation is, "tuamokau poriano ihi apameto paporo tonoyamo akara mako iwato" ("You must make me as you are. Let me hunt all kinds of meat. You must give me those things.") After the ashes have been rubbed into the arm, the user of the bina must remain in his house for three days. During this time he can eat only very thin cassava cakes and a little cassiri water with two very small peppers. If he eats meat during this time he will be unable to sight game when he goes hunting. Also at this period he must remain continent. Breaking of these

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778 tabus results in the failure of the bina to produce the desired
224 results. On the fourth day the man goes into the bush, but merely
825 looks for game and does not shoot anything. If during this stroll in the bush the man sees much game, he shoots a dukwaru bird (regarded as very hard to see in the forest), takes it to the nearest creek, crushes it, and washes his entire body, using the crushed meat of the dukwaru as he would use soap. Then he fishes until he catches a small silver-colored fish called muroko, and on the river bank crushes it and again washes himself, using the macerated body of the fish as he would use soap. It seems that the dukwaru and the muroko are considered to be the first fruits of the bina power. If these provisions are carried out faithfully, good luck will attend the efforts of the huntsman.

In addition to the krapo, the aruko worm is used as a bina. It is a tree worm of the centipede type, about four inches long, as big around as a man's finger, and is especially distinguished by the red and white marking which encircles the body. The red marking is apparently the explanation of the choice of this worm as a bina, as in the invocations which accompany its use, the worm is asked to give the hunter power to streak with red the bodies of the animals which he hunts, in the way in which the worm is colored, presumably referring to the blood which the hunter hopes to draw from his quarry. A man finds one of these worms in a tree, dislodges it with a stick, and takes it home wrapped in a leaf. In his house he chars it over the fire and makes it into a black powder, which is then rubbed into cuts in the arm, in the manner followed with the krapo bina. No slime or liquid from the worm is rubbed into the incisions, however, as was the case with the frog. The period of tabu following the completion of the bina is only one day in this case.

As far as I was able to discover, the krapo and the aruko worm are the only members of the animal kingdom used in making binas.

778 A large number of plants are used as binas. I have made no
824 attempt to exhaust the lists of plants used for this purpose.

224 All plant binas are used as charms to assist the hunter in securing definite types of game; that is, each bina is efficacious only in the hunting of a certain species, and is chosen because of a resemblance, fancied or real, between some part of the plant and some

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part of an animal in question. Practically all of the plants used have non-woody stems and large leaves. The use of these binas is secret, it being believed that discovery destroys the effect and sometimes causes serious consequences. A considerable element of trial and error is present in the choice of plant binas. A man hunting in the bush will notice a plant of which the leaf, for instance, resembles the hoofs of the red deer. He will dig up the plant with his cutlass and carry it home, where it is not likely to be seen or touched by other persons. Whenever he goes out to hunt he repairs without being observed to the spot where the plant is growing, picks a leaf, crushes it, and rubs it vigorously over the scars of his krapo bina. Burning or drying the leaf before using, contrary to the condition of animal binas, diminishes the power of a plant bina more quickly. While applying the bina to his arm the man recites an invocation something like this: "ikali-mako-moko-tuturarari-iwa" (lit: "you give him — you are bina") In some cases it is the root which is used, again it is the stem. In any case, the part of the plant which bears the alleged resemblance to the animal desired is used for bina purposes. If the use of a certain plant does not bring the desired results, it is discarded, while plants whose use is attended with good luck may be used for years. Most men have a collection of plants, each of which is efficacious for procuring one kind of game or fish. And a man usually uses several binas before starting on a hunting expedition, so that he will be prepared to deal with as many kinds of game as possible.

Associated with binas are a number of tabus. When using one of these charms on hunting expeditions the proprietor of the bina must always be careful to sling his hammock up over a beam of a house, where it cannot be touched accidentally by anyone in his absence. If any other touches the hammock, the bina will be useless in hunting. Furthermore, a man while using a given bina plant, that is, while he has it in his field, must not sell his bow and arrow or gun, although others may borrow them. These restrictions are important, the theory being that when a man uses a bina he becomes associated in a sort of partnership relationship with the supernatural power represented by the bina. This power becomes joint owner of the man's hammock and hunting weapons. There is a difference of opinion as to just what the power is which

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778 224 771 the bina represents, but it is agreed that in some way it is associated with the species of game in question. We have already seen that each animal has an individual spirit of its own. The bina power is not associated with individual animal spirits, nor have the natives formulated their ideas concerning it sufficiently to conceive of it consciously as a spirit representing the entire species. Nevertheless, it seems that the underlying notion is that the bina plant or animal participates in the spiritual power which pervades the whole species or group of species for which it is efficacious. Informants say that because the bina has something in common with an animal it "must have the same spirit that all animals like it have." By rubbing the bina into himself through incisions in the skin, a man partakes of the power himself, or becomes associated with the spirit. And the power or spirit is personalized sufficiently to take an interest in certain of a man's belongings, an interest which is sometimes rendered in pidgin English as "ownership." Some informants say that the bina spirit actually assumes ownership in the hammock and hunting weapons. Others say that the spirit merely accompanies the hunter into the bush and helps him to find and kill game. All agree, however, that the krapo bina spirit assumes joint ownership in the hammock, hunting weapons, and, in addition, the bench, which must be hidden during the owner's absence so that other persons will not use it. The spirit resents the use of hammock or bench and the sale of weapons by persons with whom it is not associated. Asked to explain the somewhat traitorous behaviour of these spirits which, while pervading animal species, betray the species to human beings, informants uniformly replied so incoherently as to indicate that the problem had never been brought to their attention. There is thus considerable confusion concerning the precise identification of the bina spirits, a confusion which, I think we may safely say, exists as strongly in the minds of the Caribs themselves as in those of the readers of this section.

778 784 Serious consequences may attend the spoilation of a bina as a result of the breaking of one of the tabus mentioned above. If a krapo bina spoils, its proprietor becomes partially or totally blind. In regard to this particular bina, spoilation may also occur if the proprietor allows a child to get its urine on his hammock or on himself. Boils and eruptions most often attend the spoilation of

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832 of use. Although very good results are reported from the use of certain love charms, only desperately unrequited lovers or individuals with adulterous or home-breaking intentions resort to such extremes. Prolonged coyness or indifference is not a noticeable feature of Carib courtship and before marriage, at least, it is only the extremely unattractive individual who cannot prevail upon the desired one to share a couch occasionally. Sexual communion seems to take the edge off romantic yearning. In short, there is little love of the "moon-calf" variety between Carib young people. A man who wishes to persuade a virtuous wife to leave her husband is the most frequent user of love magic.

754 **Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs and Practices.** The aremi emu, or professional sorcerer, is concerned chiefly in acting as magical agent for individuals who wish either to do harm to another person or to seek revenge. The functions and techniques of this practitioner are described in our chapter on Crime and Punishment because of their close connection with law and order.

754 It is well to point out here, however, that the methods of the
791 aremi differ from those of the piaiyen in the following respects. (1) The aremi does not use a maraka or rattle, because he is unable to talk with the spirits which are represented by pieces of stone. (2) To induce the psychic state necessary for his art, the aremi drinks an infusion of red peppers, while the piaiyen uses an infusion of green tobacco. (3) The aremi, although able to divine trouble, is unable to talk directly with any of the more powerful spirits as the piaiyen does, but relies almost entirely upon magical practices. On the other hand, both medicine men and sorcerers use tobacco smoke in their practices.

Herewith are mentioned certain magical practices and beliefs which are within the scope of laymen.

●224 The first time a dog is used for hunting, it cannot be allowed
789 to eat the flesh or bones of an animal which it has hunted. If such occurs, the dog will be useless for hunting in the future. It is believed that contact with the animal flesh weakens the dog's powers of hunting. Orupere, a plant called by the name of a giant mythic snake (Myth 3) because the veins in the leaves are red and branch out like the tongues of this supernatural monster, is rubbed on a hunting dog's nose to make his smell keener. It is extremely difficult for any living thing to escape the clutches of

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the monster's tongues. On the theory of similarity and contact, the dog's nose absorbs the ability to hunt all things down. 789 224

Puppies are frequently protected from illness by a string of cotton tied around the right leg just above the point of the astragulus. The progress through the body of spirits which may have entered the animal through its feet is cut off by the string around the leg. 789 825

The shells of the large river snail, which bear a general resemblance to the globular gourd, are tied to gourd bushes as a means of insuring a good crop.

The snake is believed to live forever, because in changing its skin it becomes young again each year. The same is said to be true of the bush crab, which doffs its shell each year.

The larynx bones of the "howling baboon" (*Mycetes*) are charred, pulverized, mixed with water, and drunk as an infusion as a cure for coughs and throat trouble.

**Dreams.** If a man dreams of a dead person, he believes that he is actually seeing the ghost of the dead walking by at that moment. 828 787

If a person dreams of a faraway place, he believes that his spirit is visiting that place while he sleeps. "If I dream of Waini Saw Mill (a hundred miles away), it means that my spirit is out for a walk."

When a living person is seen in a dream, the Caribs have difficulty in explaining why the person in question did not dream that his spirit was at the point mentioned by the first dreamer. One informant was perplexed by the following: "Two times I dreamed the same dream. My brother and I were paddling a korial in the Wori-wori rapids (on the Barama) each time. But my brother did not dream that at all."

It is believed that when a man dreams of intercourse with a specific woman, the representation of her which he sees is merely the disguise assumed by a malevolent snake spirit, and that it is not the actual spirit of the woman in question. Certain female spirits take delight in assuming the forms of living women and appearing to men in dreams. An erotic dream of this sort is highly undesirable, because it is believed that a man will become seriously ill after such a dream unless he immediately confesses it to the other members of the settlement. The spirit which he sees in a dream of this sort will make the dreamer ill and try to kill him so

walking through the forest is always on the lookout for casual protein. The smallest bird egg, an embryonic bird, or what have you, are saved and consumed.

The more intensive food quest for the larger animals is aided by the introduction of rifles. A few dilapidated shotguns were in use by Upper Barama River Caribs in 1932-33 (Gillin 1936:8). Currently, only a limited number of men own rifles and ammunition is not always available. As a consequence, the local technology of hunting, including bow and arrows and traps as described by Gillin (1936:3-9), is maintained.

The fish poisons described by Gillin are also in use (1936:11). Rather than the haiari root, the kunami leaves, picked from plants in the fields, are more frequently used around the air strip, where the harvesting of fish has also changed. After repeated poisoning of the nearby streams, only a handful of small fish, three inches and under, are collected in this manner.

With regard to domesticated fauna, there exists the same lack of a specific boundary which characterizes the floral resources. Chickens are clearly domesticated. Currently, they and their eggs are eaten. This is a change from an ornamental use reported by Gillin (1936:45). At one time, a few pigs were raised in the area around the air strip. Scrawny dogs who must scavenge for themselves are kept for hunting. Also, a variety of birds and animals, including the kibihi, armadillo, labba, and bush hog, are captured when infants and kept as pets until they are mature. Then they are eaten. Finally, a honey bee nest may be moved to a location convenient to future use.

centralized to make use of the government programs and services available at the Air Strip as well as maintain an advantageous subsistence relationship to the rain forest. From the preliminary data available on the resettlement around Baramita Air Strip, a dual pattern of residence is evident only in respect to those people who have moved in from the more remote settlements. To some extent, this pattern reflects the several months required to develop a productive farm in a new location while relying on an established farm. As yet, permanent residents of the Air Strip and the two satellite settlements of Aranka and Baramita have not cut fields in the more remote areas. The further development of a pattern of dual residence will depend on persistence in the extent and nature of regional networks of exchange at Baramita Air Strip.

At the present time, the aggregation of people at the Air Strip plus those in the satellite settlements have put a burden on the local resources in the immediate area. With regard to hunting and gathering, greater effort is given for meager results around the Air Strip so that longer trips must be made. Also, the higher, dry land suitable for an air strip does not provide a reliable water source during the dry seasons. People must dig in the dry stream beds and at times have temporarily moved and camped out on the banks of the Barama River until rain came again. House structures continue to be located inside cultivated fields, and large tracts of land have been opened up around the air strip.

A survey completed in late spring 1971 revealed that 140 acres of bush had been cut for farms around the air strip. To avoid disputes,

000 this work. With regard to hunting, all the game killed by a partic-
*177 ular gun, regardless of the marksman, is considered to belong to the
422 gun's owner. This obtains even if the owner is not along on the
224 hunting trip. After keeping what he wants of the catch for himself, the owner of the gun distributes the rest among the hunting party.

*177 The only instances in which women enter into immediate exchanges
432 with other Caribs involve the selling of pots.[5] Prices vary from $3.00 to $4.00 a pot. The number of exchanges has been small, and the potter is always the seller. No pots have been sold among the residents of the satellite settlements. At the Air Strip, two women have engaged in this enterprise.

*177 The first potter is Anna Abraham, a temporary resident at the
323 Air Strip. She makes her pots in Piai Creek where she has located a
159 reliable source of clay. Male members of her household carry the pots on their backs to the Air Strip. Her pots are particularly noted for cracking and leaking, making it necessary for the purchaser
*177 to melt balata over them as a repair. Even so, during the first year
432 of her residence at the Air Strip, she sold nine pots, both tuluwa
159 and tukuwali varieties. Six pots were sold for the use of different women in the households of the Captain, the prominent Councillor, and Baird's father-in-law. The other three pots were sold to her sister and her sister's daughter. However, there was controversy regarding the exchange with her sister. The sister's household claimed they did not have the money to pay for the pot.

*177 Charlotte is the second potter. She is the same person Gillin
159 records as being the youngest wife of the headman of Sawari. Now
323